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ABSTRACT

The first article in this research report draws upon material presented at four American Newspaper Publishers Association-Bureau of the Census workshops. The report describes how the 1980 United States Census data can be applied by newspapers to localize national trends, to serve as a background for local news stories, to monitor changes in the audience, and to make strategic plans for circulation, advertising, and promotion. The second article concerns the use of newspaper political commentary by students at two universities in California through their undergraduate years. The study reports that one-fifth of the students selected newspapers as their first choice for political commentary and that these students were more politically active and more conservative in their attitudes than were students who primarily depended on other media for political information. (MKM)

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Using Census Data

By Edna F. Einsiedel

HIGHLIGHTS: Many national and local reports from the 1980 Census will begin appearing soon. Drawing upon material presented at four ANPA-Bureau of the Census workshops conducted this past year, this report describes how this data can be applied by newspapers to localize national trends and to serve as a background for local news stories, to monitor changes in the audience, and to make strategic plans for circulation, advertising and promotion.

College Students' Use of Newspapers For Political Commentary

By Serena E. Wade

HIGHLIGHTS: Students at two universities in California were tracked through their undergraduate years on their use of newspapers for political commentary. This panel study reports that, overall, one-fifth of the students selected newspapers as their first choice for political commentary. These newspaper readers are among the more politically active as well as more conservative in their attitudes toward political issues than students who primarily depend on other media for political information.

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Using Census Data

By Edna F. Einsiedel

Dr. Einsiedel, an associate professor at the School of Public Communications, Syracuse University, coordinated the four ANPA-Bureau of the Census workshops on "Using Census Data in the Newsroom" presented in 1980. She thanks the following researchers for allowing her to use material from their presentations: Maxwell E. McCombs, Director, ANPA News Research Center; Kristin McGrath, Research Director, Minneapolis Star-Tribune Newspapers; Gary Rummler, Milwaukee Journal; and William Dunn, Detroit News. The author also thanks the research directors of the following newspapers for sharing their uses of census data: The Washington Post, the Houston Chronicle, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Syracuse Post-Standard and the Detroit Free Press.

"A newspaper functions within and as a reciprocal part of its geographic market. Understanding this fact and using it as the basis of planning is essential to full realization of a newspaper's potential, and to the success of those who work for it."

-Jon G. Udell
The Economics of the American Newspaper

One major source of information about each newspaper's market is the U.S. Census, whose lode of information on a local or nationwide basis would be difficult to duplicate. Census data are indispensable in identifying and responding to the country's human needs, in the performance of government at the federal, state and local levels, and in private enterprise.

Most people are probably familiar with the primary purpose of the census as prescribed by the Constitution: to provide the basis for equal apportionment among the states of seats in the House of Representatives. In addition, census information has been used by the federal government as the basis for distributing billions of dollars of program funds to state and local governments.

The private sector, too, makes use of census data in many ways: allocating sales efforts, allocating advertising and promotional efforts, determining sales potential by areas, analyzing trends for market planning, forecasting long-term sales trends, and so on. This list is certainly not exhaustive. However, when one considers the variety of uses to which census data are put, the implications for journalists and for newspapers as a business operation cannot be overlooked.

Changing Audiences

The census will tell newspapers what is happening to key demographic groups in the community. We know, for example, that newspaper readers tend to come from older people, people with higher incomes and higher education levels.

What can we expect from the 1980 census?

In terms of age, large increases will be found in the number of people between the ages of 30 and 49 and those 60 and over. The number of people between the ages of 10 and 24 (the baby-bust generation) and between 50 and 59 (the Depression generation) will decrease substantially. In the next decade, newspapers appear to have the "right" age group going for them, although they will have to exert greater efforts to make gains among younger age groups.

Projections regarding income also will be of interest. Discounting inflation, there was a 34 percent increase in median family income between 1960 and 1970, but the increase from 1970 to 1978 was only four percent. The big drop has been attributed to economic sluggishness, to the increase in the number of families maintained by single parents who tend to have a lower average income, and to changing age structure and family composition. Factoring in the effects of inflation, the real disposable income of families has in fact dropped.

Gains in education are expected across the board, although the greatest gains are expected among women and among blacks. Between 1970 and 1978, for instance, the number of women under 35 enrolled in college increased 50 percent. For women 18 to 24, the increase in college enrollment between those years was 36 percent while the increase for men of the same age was only about nine percent. The 1980 census will show whether or not women's college enrollment is continuing to increase at a rapid rate.

One word of caution, however. These projections are on a national level, and a newspaper still will have to evaluate trends locally.

Editorial Uses of Census Data

Census data provide a wealth of information that can provide background material for stories as well as being a direct source of news stories. Census data can help reporters introduce context, background and precision into news stories. It also enables the reporter to test the claims of news sources against hard facts.

There also will be many interesting national

trends for which a reporter can always provide a local angle from census data.

Take, for instance, the areas of energy use and transportation. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of U.S. households using coal and wood diminished to less than one percent for each fuel, but natural gas usage increased from 23 percent to 57 percent of all households. The home energy picture from the census may show wood and coal surging in popularity. Residential solar energy use may still be too limited to affect nationwide statistics in 1980. A reporter from an area which experiences colder and longer winters might do a story on fuel use in his community.

Transportation planners also will learn from the census whether Americans are choosing to live and work in places with ready access to public transportation. The 1980 questionnaire asked commuters their work location, time spent getting to work, means of transportation to work — and, for auto riders and drivers, how many people share the ride. No doubt, there is an interesting story here for most urban-suburban areas, especially for areas where mass transit or the price of gas is an issue.

Some Local Stories

One reporter who has done an extensive number of stories based on census data is Gary Rummler, urban affairs reporter for the Milwaukee Journal. In a 1972 story headlined "Blacks Here Poorer than Elsewhere," his lead said:

> Milwaukee's black families appear to be financially worse off than black families in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and other large cities based on new information available from the 1970 census.

His story proceeded to describe that the relatively poor standard of living for black families in Milwaukee was borne out by the following:

- Milwaukee has a higher percentage of poor black families than Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Kansas City or San Francisco.
- Milwaukee's percentage of black families with poverty incomes is higher than the national average for all black families living in central cities.
- The black median family income in Milwaukee was lower than the average of all other Midwest cities.
- In the last 10 years, Milwaukee blacks have failed to reduce the gap between their incomes and those of whites, a situation not found in the country as a whole. Not only did black families fare poorly in comparison with other cities, but they had incomes considerably below whites and Spanish-speaking families in Milwaukee (despite their having a higher education level than Spanish-speaking families in the city).

What were some of the data sources Rummler used? He took the Census Tracts publication for the Milwaukee metropolitan area and looked at the tables describing the *Income Characteristics of the Population*, the *General and Social Characteristics of the Black Population*, as well as that on the *Economic Characteristics of the Black Population*. He then arrived at his results by adding the raw data for each census tract (on income characteristics for blacks, for instance), summing the results for pertinent tracts in the Milwaukee area, then computing the appropriate percentages.

An alternative way of arriving at the same information, and in fact, looking at more refined comparisons among groups (for example, average income among blacks compared to whites, by differing educational levels) is available if the newspaper has the computer tapes or access to them (see section on *Locating Reference Materials)*. Then the reporter could very easily request the appropriate cross-tabulations, e.g., race by income groups, or race by income and by education.

In another story, Chris Lecos of the same newspaper wrote about how Milwaukee's oldest and poorest neighborhoods had suffered the heaviest losses in housing during the '60s, especially those neighborhoods with large black populations. Lecos established that more than half of the units torn down during the '60s were from 48 census tracts that were at least 10 percent black. Thirty eight of the tracts were in the paths of major housing projects. Heaviest housing losses occurred in 37 census areas that were at least 50 percent black.

The problem on overcrowding also was described, particularly in housing occupied by blacks. The story explained that while the census data do not identify how the houses were lost, the reporter was able to determine the impact of public programs on the city's housing supply in two ways: through maps prepared by city and county planners that showed the exact routes *through census tracts* of such major programs as freeways and urban renewal, and a city development report providing a detailed breakdown of housing units torn down. This is a good example of how census data can be used in conjunction with local government reports to evaluate the impact of public programs.

One problem with a story based on "a lot of numbers" is making it come alive for the readers. William Dunn, a demographic writer for the Detroit News, says he usually does two things "to provide flesh to the number": *first,* he talks to experts (sociologists, demographers, population planners, etc.) for their interpretations of the data. *Second,* having established the trends, or "the typical" from the data, he then sets out to find "the people who exemplify the trends."

Census Data for the Newspaper as a Business

For the newspaper as a business enterprise, keeping tabs on its market, its readers and its community is a must. Economist Jon Udell has noted:

> *The number and kinds of people comprising a market define its size and quality. Their presence generates retail activity. Demographic characteristics . . . . dictate the kind and amount of retail activity the market will support. The newspaper is totally dependent upon the presence of people, money and retail activity. Newspapers are affected immediately by changes in the market.*

Census data provide the newspaper an excellent opportunity to more systematically evaluate its performance and to plan strategy by tracking the changes in the market and applying the information to advertising, circulation, promotion, or just general long-range planning.

Advertising. Census data can be used for *site location assistance* to potential advertisers who are trying to identify where they might best locate a new retail outlet or a branch store. In a fast-growing area such as Houston, for example, the Houston Chronicle does about eight to ten site locations a month. Keeping potential customer demographics in mind, the newspaper targets one or more specific sites, then presents a demographic profile of the area within a five-mile radius.

The nature of the newspaper's market also can be promoted to national advertisers. The newspapers in Syracuse, New York, for instance, obtain some trade advertising in this fashion, particularly for national food companies, tobacco, automotive and liquor products.

Economic census data also can be used by newspapers to inform businesses (again potential advertisers) where they stand in relation to the competition. The amount of competition tells a business how much to advertise and how.

Zoning for advertising is another use of census information. The Houston Chronicle has the capability of distributing preprints to 24 different areas broken down by detailed demographics. These preprints or special supplements are inserted in the newspaper and selectively distributed.

Circulation. Census data also can be very useful in circulation evaluation and planning. Again, the Houston Chronicle has put census tract information to good use. One of the common problems circulation managers run into, for example, is delivery in areas with a high concentration of multiple-dwelling units. The Houston Chronicle, in fact, has someone in charge of Circulation in such areas (a Multiple Dwelling Unit Manager) to upgrade delivery to these areas. Census tract information provides a newspaper like the Chronicle information on housing density and type of housing, in addition to demographic data about residents. District and route planning are more efficiently streamlined when the newspaper is able to take into account factors other than having a good corps of motivated carriers.

Census data also can help circulation managers identify areas for circulation development. Some newspapers have a very accurate and detailed profile of what their readers are like based on readership data. Armed with this information, various census tracts can be evaluated, comparing the newspaper's penetration in these areas against what can be achieved, based on knowledge of the newspaper's likely readers.

Using multiple regression techniques, newspapers such as The Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune have isolated the best predictors of readership of their newspaper. If it were income and education, for instance (as is the case with the Post), one could evaluate various census tracts with likely Post readers (i.e., high income, high education areas) and analyze circulation patterns in such areas.

Strategic Planning Uses. A newspaper does not exist in a vacuum. It has to plan, act, evaluate in the context of the community in which it exists. It is knowledge of that community that allows a newspaper to plan its growth and development.

How is its market growing? What kinds of people are moving in at what rate? What is the state of the local economy? What kind of capital expenditures should it be making on the basis of what kind of market growth projections?

In discussing the newspaper revolution of the '80s, Anthony Smith, in his book, Goodbye Gutenberg, suggests that restructuring the newspaper is now well underway for a number of metropolitan newspapers. More newspapers are showing greater

interest in the "tailored newspaper" in which some sections are provided only for those demographic groups among the subscribers advertisers wish to reach. Successful tailoring of the newspaper depends on a host of factors, including maintaining detailed demographic and other information on readers on hand with the appropriate adjustment of methods of circulation and delivery. Input from census data can be quite useful in the process.

"Take your pick of the readers of the special-interest sections in the Star and Tribune," encourages a special brochure put out by the Minneapolis newspapers directed to its advertisers. "In addition to choosing your audience by editorial content, you can choose your customers by geographic market. The state is yours with full-run editions; the metropolitan area with zone editions. You can even choose a slice of the metro area with Mini-zones, or a hunk of the state with Maxi-zones. The choice is yours."

This example illustrates how newspapers can offer advertisers the opportunity to define their audiences more precisely than in the past.

One of the interesting uses to which census data was put by The Washington Post was a study on migration patterns in the Washington area. Based on 1970 census data, the Post found that (1) Washington had the highest rate of population turnover among the nation's 10 most populated metro areas; (2) one out of every three Washington area residents moved into or out of the area between 1965 and 1970; and (3) there were significant differences in mobility patterns between the three major segments of the Washington area, Maryland, Northern Virginia and the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia was the most stable, and Virginia the least.

Information such as this has important implications. The material could be of interest as a news story. There also could be significant applications to circulation, advertising and promotion. The efforts to get new subscribers to retain their interest and loyalty over a shorter term, to promote the newspaper, or to advise advertisers about the market would certainly be different from those of a newspaper with a more stable readership base.

Locating Reference Materials

Sources for census publications or data are:

(1) *Libraries.* Many of the census publications can be found in local libraries. There are over 1300 government and census depository libraries. These include the main public libraries in major cities and many college and university libraries.

(2) *Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.* The Census Bureau has a Data User Services Division which can provide assistance about what kinds of publications are available, in what format (publications, computer tapes, or microfiche) and how to access this information. Most of the items are available through regional offices in 12 locations, all of which have data user service offices: Atlanta, Boston, Charlotte, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City (Kans.), Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia and Seattle.

(3) *Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402,* and its bookstores in principal cities have government publications for sale.

(4) *Private data companies.* Many major cities have companies specializing in various types of market data, some of which come out of the census. A partial listing of such data companies was published in American Demographics magazine, September, 1979.

(5) *Metropolitan or regional planning offices.* Most planning offices of larger cities generally acquire the computer tapes on the census. The Department of Commerce has encouraged states to participate in a data center program. For example, the state of New York is one of about 30 states already signed up for the program. As part of this participation, major cities in the state such as Syracuse have been designated as an "affiliate data center." For a minimum fee (to cover operation or clerical costs), access to the data is made available to interested groups or individuals.

Publications. The publications listed here are by no means exhaustive. Where possible, dates of issue are provided.

Population Census Reports. Two volumes. Volume 1 will include characteristics of the population with separate reports for each of the 50 states, U.S. territories and the country as a whole. The series in this volume will include: Number of Inhabitants (issue: Dec., 1980 - April, 1981); General Population Characteristics (issue: February - August, 1981), which will include statistics on age, sex, race, Spanish origin, marital status and household relationship; General Social and Economic Characteristics (Sept. 1981 - April 1982); and Detailed Population Characteristics (Dec. 1981 - Sept. 1982). Volume 2 will include Subject Reports (1982 issue) which will concentrate on various specific subjects such as fertility patterns cross-classified by race, age, income, education or other relevant variables.

Housing Census Reports. Five volumes will cover such diverse areas as general housing characteristics

described by household composition, housing of senior citizens, space utilization, structural characteristics of the housing inventory, housing of selected racial groups, etc. (to be issued beginning in February 1981 through 1982).

This series will be presented for states, counties, SMSAs and other appropriate geographic entities.

The following data sources are also available:

Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1977. Published annually since 1878. Some of its supplements are published every five years. It is the standard annual summary of statistics on the social, political and economic organization of the United States.

County and City Data Book, 1979. Data from the most recent censuses and from other government agencies and private sources. Statistics are presented for every county and city with populations of 25,000 or more, as well as for metropolitan areas, states, regions and census divisions.

These are some of the useful guides to using census data:

Census '80: Continuing the Factfinder Tradition (Bureau of the Census, 1980). Provides a good overview of the 1980 census. Includes background about the history of the census, the bureau and how it operates, concepts and definitions of census terms, some basics on data analysis, and some of the applications of census data.

American Statistics Index. Published yearly by the Congressional Information Service, Inc., Washington, D.C. Available in major libraries or by subscription. A comprehensive guide and index to the statistical publications of the U.S. government. Covers the period from the 1960's to the present. □

College Students' Use of Newspapers For Political Commentary

By Serena E. Wade

Dr. Wade is professor of journalism and mass communications at San Jose State University.

Nearly all readership studies in the past decade have shown that newspaper consumption is on the decline.[1] At the same time, these studies have found that "loyal" readers are among the older, better-educated and financially stable segments of society.[2] On the average, the college-educated are nearly twice as likely to be newspaper readers as those with a high school education or less. Yet even among the college graduates, there is less newspaper dependency than there has been in the past.

In an election year, the newspaper industry is sure to be particularly concerned about the role of the press in the political process. Many recent surveys have shown the growing importance of television as the major source of political information for the American public. Evidence concerning the young adult is not as consistent.

Nearly 20 years ago, Jennings and Niemi found that exposure to political media messages in general was greater for young people aged 29-32 than for those 21-24[3]. A more extensive analysis across national surveys in election years from 1952 to 1972 has shown a decline in the use of television and an increase in the use of newspapers for political information in these same age groups.[4]

In the 1972 political campaign, Shaw and McCombs reported that voters under 30 generally paid more attention to television and less to newspapers as the campaign progressed. However, the issue agenda for college youth followed the newspaper agenda, while the rank order of issue importance for non-college youth more closely reflected the television network agenda.[5]

Little systematic research has been done that asks current college students about their media habits, including their use of newspapers or television for political information.

Do college students read newspapers for political commentary?

What is the relative importance of newspapers among college students for political commentary? What types of students are most likely to use newspapers for political commentary? How does this use of newspapers correspond to students' political preferences, attitudes and activity? Answers to these questions could provide some useful planning data for publishers.

Findings in Brief

- Twenty percent of the students selected newspapers as their "first choice" for political commentary for at least one college year. Significantly fewer consistently chose newspapers throughout their college career.

- Students from families with higher incomes and students who declared themselves as members of traditional political parties were more likely to select newspapers as their first choice for political commentary.

- Students who seek political commentary from newspapers generally see themselves as moderates, are among the more politically active, and are more conservative in their political attitudes than students who choose other media.

Methodology

As part of a four-year inquiry into the process of attitude change among college students, several questions about mass communication were asked of students in two Bay Area universities — San Jose State University and the University of Santa Clara. SJSU is a commuter school that serves approximately 27,000 students annually and most students work at least part-time. Santa Clara is a small, private, Jesuit school where on-campus residence is provided for the majority of undergraduates.

Students responded to lengthy questionnaires in each of their four college years, 1973-1977. At SJSU, 257 students participated in all four study waves; at Santa Clara, the full participation group was 119. In each case, comparison of the demographics from these small numbers with data from the larger starting samples at each school indicated that the subsample completing all four waves was not significantly different on any meaningful criterion (sex, age or socio-economic background) from students who completed fewer waves, then dropped out of the study.

Results

Newspapers have a very small loyal following among college students at either campus. A scant 20 percent of the students selected newspapers as their first choice for political commentary in any college year. Of that number, only 8 percent selected newspapers in every year at SJSU, and 3 percent were consistent in their choice of newspaper political commentary at Santa Clara. Among students, magazines were a two to one favorite for political commentary across all survey waves.

Students who selected newspapers as their first choice for political commentary at both schools were more likely to be from families with higher incomes. However, the results also showed that students from families with better incomes were associated with more information-seeking in general.

In the sophomore year, the largest proportion of newspaper users for political commentary were students with academic majors in business, science or engineering. Arts, humanities and so-

Table 1

Mean Scores on Political Measures Among Users of Different Media for Political Commentary

First Choice For Political Commentary:	Political Self-Identification[4]			Political Awareness[7]			Political Activity[8]			Political Attitude[9]		
SJSU	**Soph***	**Jr***	**Sr***	**Soph***	**Jr***	**Sr**	**Soph***	**Jr***	**Sr***	**Soph***	**Jr***	**Sr***
Broadcast	5.4	5.0	5.2	5.9	6.0	6.2	1.9	1.9	2.2	67	66	64
Newspapers	5.4	5.1	4.9	5.6	6.0	6.5	2.0	2.2	2.4	66	63	61
Magazines	5.8	5.5	5.3	6.8	6.3	6.6	2.4	2.2	2.6	70	69	67
Underground	6.3	6.2	6.5	6.8	6.9	6.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	78	83	74
SANTA CLARA	**Soph**	**Jr**	**Sr**	**Soph**	**Jr**	**Sr**	**Soph**	**Jr**	**Sr**	**Soph***	**Jr**	**Sr**
Broadcast	5.6	5.4	5.0	6.5	6.4	6.5	2.4	2.3	2.4	67	72	67
Newspapers	5.4	5.6	5.0	6.8	6.7	6.6	2.8	2.7	2.3	59	69	62
Magazines	5.4	5.3	5.3	6.7	6.5	6.9	2.4	2.5	2.4	68	66	64
Underground	5.7	5.8	5.6	6.6	6.5	6.9	2.6	2.6	3.0	76	68	67

*Means are significantly different

cial science majors used other sources more heavily. Differences in newspaper use by different academic majors largely disappeared as students became juniors and seniors.

Generally, students who sought political commentary were more likely to declare themselves members of traditional political parties. Republicans and Democrats were especially evident among newspaper readers; newspapers were not as popular as other sources among independents.

Mean scores for political identification[6] in Table 1 show that students who choose newspapers for political commentary see themselves among the political moderates. At SJSU, the scores on the index of political awareness[7] indicate newspaper readers share political information less often than their Santa Clara counterparts, either through other media exposure or interpersonal discussion.

At both schools, students who seek political commentary from newspapers are among the more politically active,[8] although Santa Clarans are more politically active overall than their SJSU peers. With the exception of the junior year at Santa Clara, those who choose newspapers for political commentary are the most conservative in their political attitudes.[9]

Conclusions

The panel data assembled here are very narrow in their focus on newspaper readership. However, *if* these data are indicative of future political information-seeking behavior by the better educated, they paint a gloomy picture. There is little newspaper loyalty within this population subgroup.

With particular reference to politics, the growing tendency among the college-educated to refuse party identification is also a bad omen. Those who did not affiliate with the Republican or Democratic parties were least likely to use the newspaper for political commentary.

Since a recent analysis completed for the National Conference of Editorial Writers[10] revealed that political news and commentary are key appeals to avid newspaper readers, the low level of reliance on newspapers among these college-educated panels underscores the importance of new editorial and promotion strategies. □

FOOTNOTES

[1]Maxwell E. McCombs, "Mass Media in the Marketplace," Journalism Monographs, 24 (August 1972); Ernest F. Larkin, Gerald L. Grotta and Phillip Stout, "The 21-34 Year Old Market and the Daily Newspaper," ANPA News Research Report, 1 (April 1977).

[2]Leonard J. Tipton, "ANPA Newspaper Readership Studies, Part I," ANPA News Research Report, 13 (July 1978).

[3]M. Jennings and R. Niemi, "Patterns of political learning," Harvard Educational Review, 38: 443-467, 1968.

[4]James Danowski and Neal Cutler, "Political Information, Mass Media Use in Early Adulthood, and Political Socialization: Seeking Clarity through Cohort Curves," in Paul Hirsh, Peter Miller and F. Gerald Kline, *Strategies for Communication Research*, Vol. 6, Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977), pp. 205-230.

[5]Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs, *The Emergence of American Political Issues* (New York: West, 1977) pp. 133-148

[6]"Self-identification of political stand" asked students to locate themselves on a political continuum, where 1 meant very conservative, and 9 meant radical.

[7]The "political awareness" index asked the frequency with which a student discussed politics with others, read about politics or watched political news/commentary on TV, where 3 meant very often, 2 meant sometimes, and 1 meant rarely or never. The items were summed for an "awareness" score that range from 1 to 9.

[8]The index of "political activity" asked students to state whether they had ever tried to persuade people to vote for an issue or candidate, signed a petition, given money to a political cause, gone to political meetings or carried a petition/participated in a demonstration. These five items were summed for an "activity" score ranging from 0 to 5, where 0 means a students has done none of these things, and 5 means a students has done them all.

[9]"Political attitudes" were meausred by asking students to agree or disagree on a scale of 1 to 7 which 16 liberal and conservative statements about political issues. Conservatively phrased items were reverse-scored so that the higher the score, the more "liberal" the student. The scores were summed to create a "political attitude" index ranging from 1 to 112. The statements addressed the following political issues: capital punishment, the military, private ownership of fire arms, leniency in the courts, effectiveness of legal and electoral methods, social welfare programs, the American Way, free enterprise, property rights, the social and economic system, a minimum income, trial by jury, big business, taxes, police and law enforcement, and equality before the law of the rich and the poor.

[10]"Readership Patterns for Editorial and Opinion Pages" by Elsa Mohn and Maxwell McCombs. Communication Research Center, Syracuse University, August 1980. A review of the literature commissioned by the National Conference of Editorial Writers.